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## CITY OF WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 24, 1851.

CONGRESSIONAL. SPEECH OF MR. FOOTE,

Or the Resolution declaring the Measures of Adjustment to be a definitive settlement of the questions growing out of domestic slavery; delivered in the Senate, Thursday, December 18, 1851.

[in continuation]

Mr. FOOTE having addressed the Senate as published a Saturday last, and before having given way to an ad-

Mr. FOOTE having addressed the Senate as published on Saturday last, and before having given way to an adjournment—
Mr. HUNTER said: If the senator from Mississippi will allow me, I will state that my recoilection does not accord precisely with his. The first suggestion came from the honorable senator from Michigan, [Mr. Cass.] who spoke to me on that subject, and said he was apprehensive that there might be a collision between the State of South Carolina and the general government, and he thought something ought to be done to prevent it. He suggested that the appointment of a commissioner heretofore had produced a very salutary effect, and might do so again. I concurred with him that everything ought to be done which could be done to prevent that difficulty. The senator from Mississippi concurred in that opinion and expressed a wish that the State of Virginia should send a commissioner for the purpose of preventing that collision. I had some conference with friends in Virginia on that subject, and it was concluded that it was premature to act at that time, as the convention had not been called, and might not be convened, and if convened it might be done under such auspices as to prevent hasty and precipitate action. The details of the conversation which I had with the senator from Mississippi I do not pretend to recollect; nor do I remember whether the conversation between us commenced with him or myself He is certainly right in his recollection that we had more than one conversation on the subject.

Mr. FOOTE, I never heard before of any previous interview between the senator from Michigan and the senator from Virginia.

Mr. HUNTER, Justice to my friend from South Carolina, [Mr. BUTLER.] with whom I am very intimate, requires me to say that he never made any suggestion in

interview between the senator from Michigan and the senator from Virginia.

Mr. HUNTER. Justice to my friend from South Carolina, [Mr. BUTLER.] with whom I am very intimate, requires me to say that he never made any suggestion in relation to that subject.

Mr. BUTLER. Never.

Mr. FOOTE. And I was especially cautious not to have any interview with him on the subject. The first time it was brought to my mind was when the honorable senator from Virginia spoke to me in the manner I have already described. I had a conversation with the honorable senator from Michigan on the subject. I told him that there could be no doubt of the propriety of the act, and I mingled my counsels with his for the purpose of bring it about. I had several conferences afterwards, of a very agreeable character, with the honorable senator from Virginia on this subject, just before I left here, at the last seasion. At first a single commissioner was spoken of in accordance with the old example; but some difficulties arising, not necessary to be explained now, with regard to the selection of the person, I suggested the propriety of having two commissioners instead of one, and it was agreed to at once by the honorable senator from Michigan. I went immediately to the lodgings of the senator from Virginia, and informed him of the change. He gave it his approval. I went further, and undertook to suggest that, inasmuch as Maryland and Virginia had happily united in bringing about the establishment of this Union, or, rather, had taken the incipient steps towards establishing it, and inasmuch as these States were alike in another important respect at that time, each having in session, within its limits, not only the ordinary legislative body, but a convention called for the purpose of remodifying the organic law, my friend from Michigan should be also called upon to address letters to distinguished gentlemen, then at Annapolis, in Maryland, so as to induce that State to co-operate with Virginia in this noble and patriotic task.

These letters were wr

(hoping not to exhaust the patience of the Senate,) I will call attention, for a moment, to the original letter, written to the State of Virginia, in the year 1832. I will read first a paragraph from the Richmond Enquirer of December 13th, 1832, and then the extract which it introduces:

day, and now's the hour.

"The impending crisis is a fearful one. What is to be the result! The question is before me day and night. As you have justly observed, we are between Scylla and Charybdis. If the general government succeed, is there not reason to fear that State rights will be in danger, and that the federal arm may become too strong at some future period! On the other hand, if South Carolina succeed, either in the project of multification or in that of secession, the Union is virtually dissolved, and we shall follow the fate of the other republics that have checkered the eventful map of history. What, then, is to be done! If South Carolina proceed as she has begun, the shock must be met, and our institutions may be demolished in the conflict. There is scarcely time, even were this Congress perfectly well disposed, to settle such a question between now and the list of February next; and if there were, it is not in human nature that the whole protective system, enormons as it is strong forcions appears one so well knows how to make, and single an immediate commencement as well as a great reduction of the terrif, stating all the great considerations which require it, and should at the same time address the State of South Carolina as a sister, suffering under the same system, and entreat her, out of regard to Virginia, to the other nouthern States, to the integrity of the Union, and, in fact, to the cause of free government through the world, to delay her action, and to try to procure a modification of the tariff, &c.

"Would not the result be favorable? At any rate, is there not such a probability of it as to justify the attempt? Events are pressing, so rapidly upon one another, that we hardly know what the next hour will produce: of course on time is to be lost.

next read, as follows:

"Extraordinary conjunctures in national affairs demand extraordinary conjunctures in national affairs demand extraordinary conjunctures in national affairs demand extraordinary conjunctures. No man can look at the true state of feeling in South Carolina without the most gloomy forchodings. A great majority of her people seem determined to second from the Union. It is no part of my business to investigate the causes of this state of feeling, or the consequences which may flow from it. out the most gloomy forebodings. A great mejority of her people seem determined to secede from the Union. It is no part of my business to investigate the causes of this state of teeling, or the consequences which may flow from it I am only dealing with faces, with our actual position as a nation, and the best remedy that can be practically applied. And what is it? You know as well as I do the high character of the South Carolinians—their I do the high character of the South Carolinians—their sensitiveness to anything that looks like political oppression or degradation. That they have serious wrongs to complain of, I am among the last to deny; but when the northern democracy is coming up to the good work of checking the project of abolline, and of endeavoring to produce a better and sounder state of feeling with respect to the slave question, and when the compromise measures of the last session hold out a rational ground of hope for the fature, it is unfortunate indeed that there is a disposition in South Carolina to push resistance to the extremity of secession. Do you not think that a commission composed of

iwo or more high and able men sent to that State from Virginia, as was done upon a former memorable occasion, to bear a fhissive of friendship, and to bey the people, in the name of the good old Commonwealth that we all so much revere, to pause, and to accept the security of a compromise, at any rate till it is violated, would now, as heretofore, be productive of the happiest results? Would it not furnish a reasonable ground to delay all action till the orisis is passed—for delay itself is often the most efficient fremedy? Would it not furnish to the leading men a just reason not for retracting their steps, but for stopping in them at present, and thus save that pride of opinion and character without which neither individuals nor communities will ever accomplish any great object? I need not pursue this idea, nor indeed have I time. Allow me one additional suggestion. How would it do to invite any of the other slaveholding States, who have the same interests as Virginia and South Carolina, and a desire to preserve the Union and the Constitution in their true spirit, devoid of loose construction and assumed power, to jou in this mission of love and peace, to entreat a sister to pause in her course, and to listen to the entreaties of her associates, who have the same interest; and must eventually meet with the same fate? I throw out this hasty idea, and I am inclined to believe that the additional solemnity which this course would give would produce the happiest results. I have not time to write more than to urge you, by your love of country, to give this matter your best reflection, and come up with the powerful support of the Enquirer to the rescue. If you do, I shall look for the restoration of peace and confidence. God alone knows what the future has in store for us."

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the rescue. If you do, I shall look for the restoration of peace and confidence. God alone knows what the future has in store for us."

Mr. President, I have been charged by the honorable senator from South Carolina [Mr. Rhkrr] with having manifested an undue disposition to commend this administration. I have been pronounced "the eulogist of the administration." This is not the first time that this charge has been made. I am not at all sensitive in regard to it, but I feel bound to put myself right. I have never commended this administration with regard to any subject whatsoever, whatever approval I may have felt to be due to it, except in connexion with the execution of the fugitive-slave law and the general plan of compromise. I have said, and I felt it, that the President of the United States has done his duty as a patriot, in recommending in his message that we should recognise the scheme of adjustment as definitive in its character. I have said and felt that he was entitled to public gratitude for his faithful efforts to carry into effect the fugitive-slave law. I have said that; I am not afraid to say it again. But those who infer from that that I approve the whole course of the administration have made a great mistake. I knew that this administration of public concerns at such a mother than the state of the defence of the constitution. I was not willing to the way of the successful administration of public concerns at such a mother than the state of the defence of the constitution. I was not willing to the way of the successful administration of public concerns at such a moment. I was not willing to weaken in the least degree the efficiency of this administration for the high pursopose I had chiefly at heart—the restoration of concord to this land. I have said nothing in relation to the course of the administration on other topics. But certain it is, and I say it frankly, that whilst I have seen nothing in the course of the administration while would induce me to indulge in vindictive reprehension, yet t

If the senators now desire to adjourn, I will give way for that purpose.
On the motion of Mr. MANGUM, the Senate then ad-

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1551.

THE COMPROMISE MEASURES.

The hour of one o'clock having arrived, and the resolutions declaring the compromise measures to be a final settlement of all the questions growing out of the subject of domestic slavery being the special order—

Mr. FOOTE resumed the floor, and continued his re-

marks as solitows:

"Besides these, the whole militia of South Carelina is to be reorganized and prepared for action—the citizens to be classified from states prepared for action—the citizens to be classified from states prevaid of a growth of the continuous contents. Acc. Acc. Who can see this prospect unmoved! Can Virginis forbear to use all the fiduces to which his entitled to be maintained and executed faithfully and efficiently, with a view to securing the national repairs where the entitled to be maintained and executed faithfully and efficiently, with a view to securing the national repairs where see this prospect unmoved! Can Virginis forbear to use all the fiduces to which his tentiled. Will she stand also?! Will she wait till the storm bursus, and war perhaps sweeps across the fields of Soath Carolina? These reflections have been suggested to us by the new of yesterday, and by a letter we have received from one of the elabest from the tariff!

"These reflections have been suggested to us by the new of yesterday, and by a letter we have received from one of the elabest from the tariff! and the properties of the state of th Mr. PRESIDENT: It must be obvious to all that the

Before excellent frequency to the probability of the second probability of the probabilit

hardly know what the next hour will produce; of course to time is to be lost.

"The times are potentions; and satisfied I am that if for the times are potentions; and satisfied I am that if for the times are potentions; and satisfied I am that if for the times are potentions; and the president will do all that wisdoms the times as the president will do all that wisdoms the times, and integrity can effect; but still, without zealous aid trom real friends, even he may not be able to carry to the times citizens have of late, as I learn, begun to testify a somewhat eager desire to modify their present organic law, so as to make it conform more nearly to the true respectively as follows:

this question, and shall proceed to examine matters of more urgency.

The senator from South Carolina [Mr. Rhkrr] says that he sees the Wilmot proviso in the act admitting California. Well, sir, the optics of the gentleman must be wondrously keen. Does the gentleman know what the Wilmot proviso is? Does he know that it in terms applies to the vacant territory of the republic, and cannot by possibility be made to operate within the limits of a sovereign State? The Wilmot proviso, in terms, excludes or prohibits slavery wheresoever it operates; the act of admitting California does not allude to slavery at all. Waiving all regular argument upon this head, I will proceed to notice one or two other cansiderations connected with this subject. Sir, permit me to say that I do not at

South Carolina in a struggle against the United States.

Mr. RHETT. Does the senator from Mississippi wish to know the truth in relation to the matter of which he is now speaking? I can tell him that I never saw any Mr. FOOTE. It was published in all the southern

Mr. FOOTE. It was published in all the southers mewspapers that I read.
Mr. RHETT. If it was I never saw it, and most certain if I had seen it I would have denied it.
Mr. FOOTE. If the senator denies it, I will not press it; but I most certainly saw the statement in the South Carolina papers, and in others. However, these are the facts. The people of Utah are to some extent slave.

We desire to be in a position in which Congress, uner

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, R. H. WEIGHTMAN. Hon. H. S. Foors, U. S. Senate.

and all adment the passages of the recording, the only system is the formation of the passage of the recording to a depictive vote. In the control of the passage of the recording to a depictive vote in the control of the passage of the recording to the passage of the passage of the recording to the passage of the recording to the passage of th

There are in New Mexico a lew negroes—in sil, as shown by the census, seventeen; and of this number there may be as many as five or six slaves—house-servants of officers of the group and others.

There has, up to this time, before the judicial tribunals, been no case of a negro held to slavery suing for his freedom. When such a case shall occur, it will, in my opinion, be adjudicated without popular excitement of any kind, though the people are, I believe, opposed to the introduction of slave labor amongst themselves; and when the time shall come when they shall think proper to seek admission as a State of the Union, they will, I am inclined to think, should there be in their opinion danger of the lintroduction of slave labor there, prohibit it. But as there is at this time no such danger, there is no such excitement on the subject; and as I see in the fature no likelihood of the introduction of slave labor there, Prohibit it. But as there is at this time no such danger, there is no such excitement on the subject; and as I see in the fature no likelihood of the introduction of slave labor there, I apprehend that the popular mind will, as now, remain calm on this point; and the question of prohibiting, admitting, or remaining silent concerning slavery, will be treated simply as a matter of policy in reference to being admitted into the Union.

To show the freedom from excitement of the people on this question, I refer you to the fact that in the State constitution of New Mexico of last year, though slavery was prohibited, the unders igned, though falsely denounced in the only newspaper in New Mexico as a slavery propagandist, was elected to the Senate by an overwhelming vote—and this, too, despite the general knowledge among the members of the legislature that he was in favor of so arranging the propertion of the true boundary line, by acknowledge in the title of Texas was good and vital the title of Texas was admitted into the Union as a single slaver of the saver of the time of the saver of the time of the tru

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elives by it e authority of the general government, have re-fused to allow their magistrates and other officers to act. They have repealed the laws previously made to aid in the recapture of fugitive slaves. And, indeed, sir, it is be true that the recovery of fugitive slaves is exclusively an affair

See how he justifies opposition to this law. If the free States could not refuse to do otherwise than they have done, why did the honorable gentleman complain of them for not supporting this law? What right had he to complain of them, if they only did as they were justified in doing?

He adds:

He adds:

"Were not such laws unconstitutional? And would they not be set aside by the courts of the United States? The doctrine of this court not only permitted, but virtually commanded the States as sovereigns, and the people of the States as individuals, to stand aloof, and to leave the slave-tiolder to the instrumentality of the government of the United States, and to this alone, to recover his fugitive slave. Sir, I protest against this doctrine. I protest against this usurpation on the part of Congress."

Was this succele made by the sanator from New York.

Was this speech made by the senator from New York, [Mr. Seward?] If he had held this very language on that particular occasion when he is understood to have lately invited certain distinguished guests, of rather an anomalous character, to his domestic mausion, perhaps nobody would have been at all surprised; though I think even he has hardly been as audacious as this. Sir, the gentleman [Mr. Rusert] said, in addition:

gentleman [Mr. Ruerr] said, in addition:

"I protest sgainst this usurpation on the part of Congress. It is faral to the rights of the South. I maintain that by the constitution we have the faith of the States as sovereigns to a compact with us; and that by that compact the government of every free State, every man in every free State, is bound, morally and constitutionally, to aid in the recovery and restoration of our fugitive slaves."

Again, speaking of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of slavery, he says:

"And what do they amount to 1. Flat assertions—naked dogmatism—and a manifest assumption, from beginning to end, of the thing to be proved. If senators have been able to see in them anything to satisfy their minds of the authority of Congress to act at all upon this subject, much less to net exclusively, they have been more fortunate than I have been.

"You may pass your laws; but a handful of people—it does not require a majority—can baffle your authority in every town in the United States, and thus nutlify your law, deride your proclamation, and put your army and navy at defiance."

Such is the language of the honorable senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Rhett.] He desired the law to operate efficiently! Did he not? Again he exclaims:

"You promulge the doctrines here which virtually make the constitution a nothing—its limitations mere breath. And now, when Abolition rears its head and stares Consolidation in the face, you wish to frown it down. It will laugh you to scorn."

laugh you to scorn."

This reminds me that I saw the learned gentleman laugh very extravagantly under the speech delivered the other day by the senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Hale,] and I believe that he was about the only senator whom I observed to be thus entertained. But it is not the first time that I have noticed interchanges of sympathy between certain senators, indicating, I fear, some secret understanding, which may possibly be more plainly disclosed hereafter, and which bodes no good to the peace and quiet of the republic. The senator says further, in the speech from which I am quoting:

"It is only carrying out the principle you taught if—the

"It is only carrying out the principle you taught it—the life you gave it. It is only ridding themselves of that re-sponsibility you imposed upon them, and carrying out your principles to their legitimate results."

Mr. President, I shall be content on this head to submit, without comment, a short extract of Mr. Webster's Albany speech of last summer. Speaking of the same law, this gentleman says:

iaw, this gentleman says:

"Now, let me say that this law has been discussed, considered, and adjudged in a great many of the tribunals of the country. It has been the subject of discussion before judges of the Supreme Court of the United States—the subject of discussion before courts the most respectable in the States. Everywhere, on all occasions, and by all judges, it has been holden to be, and pronounced to be, a constitutional law."

it has been holden to be, and pronounced to be, a constitutional law."

Who can fail to perceive that the honorable senator is
practically a worse enemy of the South than any man
north of Mason and Dixon's line?

The honorable senator has not only avowed himself a
secessionist, but has attempted to enforce his views by
something that he evidently considered to amount to argument. I shall not attempt a regular response to that
part of the honorable gentleman's speech, as I do not
deem it at all necessary to do so. But it seems that there
is an issue of fact between the senator from South Carolina and myself in regard to the period when he was first
known to give expression to disunion sentiments. The lina and myself in regard to the period when he was first known to give expression to disunion sentiments. The honorable gentleman says, if I understand him aright, that he never avowed disunion sentiments before the year 1845, whilst I have charged him with having been a disunionist for nearly twenty years, and cited his speech in Charleston in proof of the justice of my accusation. Let us look into this matter a little, sir.

Mr. RHETT. The speech states that it was since 1845, not for twenty years, although it is a matter of no consequence.

Mr. FOOTE. Does the gentleman say that it was in

1845 be became a secessionist?

Mr. RHETT. I do not care whether you say twenty or one hundred years, if I was so old. The time is of no

mportance.

Mr. FOOTE. Time has become quite important since the contleman's declaration that he had never been a dis-

the South ought to rally for safety and security at this critical moment.

He says:

"No authority within a State can seize a criminal against the laws of another State, but the authority of the State itself to which he has field. This is the law of another of the saking the laws of another State, but the authority of the State itself to which he has field. This is the law of another of the committee of the conditions, and its acknowledged by the act of 1793 with respect to fugitive criminals, but is denied with respect to fugitive siaves."

Again, says the gentleman:

"We would long since have had peaceably this guarantee of the constitution, or have dissolved our connexion with them. As a substitute—and an exclusive aubstitute—for this peaceable and upon efficient refress under the constitution, Congress has usurped the power of legislating upon this subject."

"Usurped!" that is the language of the gentleman. What could be more emphatic or more fatal! He denies the power of Congress to legislate on the subject at all, although the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that this was the only species of legislation which it held to be legal and operative. The gentleman says this sort of legislating is unconstitutional. If he entertained such an opinion, he was certainly by no means bound to express it.

Again, he says:

"The Chair. The ordinance is before the convention. The report contains in her respons which are submitted by the committee of the definition, in stating his reasons for voting for the ordinance; and the Chair deems the gentleman is order, and will permit a latitude of debute, when it strained, in state he was willing to vote for the convention to those ordinance is before the convention. The resport of the state have as obstituted by the committee of the committee. "Mr. Sarrar proceeding to elems the gentleman is order, and will permit a latitude of the terminate of the committee of t